

CİNSİYETÇİLİĞİ AZALTMAYA YÖNELİK MÜDAHALE ÇALIŞMALARI VE MÜDAHALE İÇİN SOSYAL BİLİŞSEL KURAMA DAYALI YENİ BİR MODEL ÖNERİSİ

INTERVENTIONS TO REDUCE SEXISM AND A NEW MODEL PROPOSAL FOR
INTERVENTION BASED ON SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY

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Abstract: The purpose of this review is to provide a general integrative framework to understand the different ways used in interventions to reduce sexism and the outcomes of these interventions. There are many interventions in the literature however social cognitive theory (SCT, Bandura, 1986) has not been used sufficiently to understand the process in successful interventions conducted on reducing sexism. The implications are discussed in a way to raise awareness about sexism in the group practices with women. Social cognitive theory emphasizes that, people are motivated by their sense of self-efficacy. In this sense, SCT can be used to make sense of the mechanism underlying the interventions to reduce sexism. Within this frame, first I will review the literature about sexism and interventions to reduce sexism. Second, SCT will be briefly defined. Third, I will present how SCT explains underlying mechanisms of interventions for reducing sexism and propose a new model based on SCT.

Key Words: Interventions, Sexism, Social Cognitive Theory

ÖZ: Cinsiyetçilik uluslararası düzeyde görülen ve olumsuz sonuçları kadına şiddete kadar ulaşabilen bir kavramdır. Bu gözden geçirme çalışmasının amacı cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahale çalışmalarında kullanılan farklı yöntemleri ve bu çalışmaların sonuçlarını anlamaya yönelik genel bir çerçeve sunmaktır. Literatürde incelenmiş birçok müdahale çalışması bulunmasına rağmen, sosyal bilişsel kuram (SBK, Bandura, 1986) bu zamana dek cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik başarılı müdahale çalışmalarındaki süreci anlamlandırabilmek için yeterli oranda kullanılmamıştır. Bu kuramda kişisel faktörler, davranış kalıpları ve çevresel etkiler etkileşim halindedir. SBK, bireylerin bir konuda değişim sağlayabilmek için öz yeterlik hissettikleri oranda motive olduklarını vurgulamaktadır. Bu bağlamda SBK, müdahale çalışmalarının altında yatan mekanizmayı anlamak için kullanılabilir. Bu çerçevede bu inceleme makalesinde öncelikle cinsiyetçilik ve cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahale çalışmaları ile ilgili yazın taranıp sunulacaktır. Ardından SBK temel yönleriyle açıklanacak ve SBK ya dayanılarak cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik yeni bir müdahale çalışması modeli sunulacaktır. Tartışma kısmından önce de SBK'nin cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahale çalışmalarının altında yatan mekanizmayı anlamak için nasıl kullanılacağı anlatılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müdahale Çalışmaları, Cinsiyetçilik, Sosyal Bilişsel Kuram

GİRİŞ

Gender prejudice is usually a negative opinion on characteristics of both females and males which is also referred to as sexism and is seen, unfortunately, worldwide. Violence can also be seen as gender prejudice's endpoint (World Health Organization [WHO], 2002). In Turkey, 39 % of women said that they experienced violence at least once time (TBKSG, 2009). In the literature, for the purpose of reducing violence against women, several attempts to understand the reasons behind it might be found (see., Page & İnce, 2008) and sexism was found out as an important factor that relates to violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009) This linkage makes researchers think that successful interventions to reduce sexism could also lead to lessening of violence against women (e.g., de Lemus et al., 2014; Kilmartin et al., 2008). That is why considering interventions to reduce sexism is important.

The features of sexism made Glick and Fiske (1996) call their theory "ambivalent" sexism theory because only the word like "ambivalence" can convey

the true nature of sexism. According to this theory, sexism against women contains not just hostile but also benevolent ideas. Thus, in ambivalent sexism theory (Glick and Fiske, 1996) there are two main categories namely hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). While HS is full of negative judgments towards women that can be easily noticed, BS is ostensibly positive, but it also contains negative stereotypical thoughts about women that might have detrimental effects. Both HS and BS have three subcategories. The parts of HS are; *dominative paternalism*, *competitive gender differentiation*, and *heterosexual hostility*. The subcategories of BS are *protective paternalism*, *complementary gender differentiation*, and *heterosexual intimacy*. Benevolent sexist ideas imply that women are creatures like flowers that should be protected from the threats of the outside world. This type of attitude is actually belittling women, so this is also a type of sexism that confines women within certain types of limits (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Although it seems as if BS and HS are opposite of each other, actually they are similar and complement each other (Glick & Fiske, 2001) because BS justifies the system with its discourse praising women who live in ways compatible with their traditional gender roles (Jost & Kay, 2005).

Sexism has many detrimental effects not only on individuals but on society as a whole. For example, it was shown that sexism also plays a role in inequalities in payment policies (Kilmartin et al., 2015). In addition to this, blaming the victims of abusive events is one of these affected areas in social life. For example, it was found that the ones who have benevolent sexist ideas blame victims of rape, which is an example of blaming the victim instead of supporting her in an abusive event (Viki & Abrams, 2002) To add on this, in another study it was found that participants who have hostile sexist beliefs blamed victims of psychological abuse more than those who have lesser hostile beliefs (Capezza & Arriaga, 2008). In the same study, it was also shown that the gender of the participant did not affect the results, so both women and men who have hostile sexist ideas blame the female victims of abuse. These features make sexism a structure to be intervened to reduce.

Psychologists generally focus on intervening prejudices other than sexism (Becker et al., 2014; de Lemus et al., 2014). However, different factors like interpersonal issues or sociopolitical events affect sexism, and it is related with violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009) so it is a construct to be intervened (Rudman & Glick, 2008; Swim & Hyers, 2009). When we look at the literature, we can see that there are only a few studies that mention reducing sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011, 2012; de Lemus et al., 2014). However, interventions are important to gain awareness about the harmful effects of sexism and even to reduce it. The type of intervention is also important for successful results. For instance, researchers used an experiential learning program called WAGES to reduce reactance against the new information about recognizing the harms of sexism in everyday life which is aimed to be gained at the end of their intervention (Cundiff et al., 2014). In the experiential learning program, after conveying concrete

experience, 3 steps namely *reflecting*, *thinking* and *acting* should be followed (Kolb, 1984 as cited in Cundiff et al., 2014). At the end of the study, it was found that participants in WAGES condition recognized sexism as more harmful than the participants in the control condition. It was also found that since the experiential program lessened the reactance and promoted self-efficacy, these effects on self-efficacy and reactance mediated the effects of intervention on behavioral intentions to reduce sexism.

In an intervention study (Fawcett et al., 1999), a workshop, which is composed of 12-sessions and posters, was used to not just heighten awareness about abuse, but also disclose it in the case of experiencing the sexist type of abuse. Before planning an intervention, for the purpose of understanding the norms underlying the violence against women, the researchers used a technique called *story completing* in which researchers questioned the participants about the choices of an abused woman. For the designing of the intervention, conducting in-depth interviews can also be helpful as in this study because in this way researchers in the future can understand that some abused women actually blame themselves for the abusive acts of men while the men get rid of the responsibility by putting the blame on alcohol or outside pressures for the abusive sexist act. It shed light on the fact that while men answered direct questions in a more democratic way in the study, their actual beliefs might be something else. Men's underlying beliefs were revealed by the story completing exercise. Thus, implicit techniques might be crucial to use to understand the actual level of prejudice or sexism in participants. Interviews in this study also showed that women generally try to minimize the extent of violence by emphasizing the positive behaviors of their partners.

In another intervention study (Zawadzki et al., 2012) whose aim is to raise awareness about sexism, researchers showed the importance of experiential learning by using this type of learning in their workshop. When they compared the results of the other workshop used as the control condition where the experiential method was not used, they found that participants retained new knowledge gained at the workshop with experiential learning even longer at the one-week follow-up session. To sum up, both Cundiff et al., (2014) and Zawadzki et al., (2012) show the importance of the experiential learning method in interventions. In addition, in the study of Zawadzki et al., (2012), it was found that the experiential learning method lessens the reactance and heightens the self-efficacy in participants, which results in longer lasting knowledge in gender equality when compared to participants in "information only" condition. By stepping from this information, in my current proposal self-efficacy is one of the important subjects. When people have higher self-efficacy they might feel that they may use information learned from a study more reproductively because efficacy is the foundation of human motivation (Bandura, 1977, 2004).

Another study (Kilmartin et al., 2015) which is experimental and contains behavioral interventions was conducted to reduce sexist attitudes in

undergraduate men in the United States. In the control group, researchers intervened in assertiveness skills; however, in the experimental condition, they made participants criticize sexist attitudes of a man in a role-playing session. In the two-week follow-up session, it was found that when compared to the control condition, sexist attitudes of participants in the experimental condition decreased significantly. The intervention in this study also contained a written exercise which was about the thoughts of a sexist man written in 2 weeks after a role-playing experiment. One of the most important parts of this study for Kilmartin et al., (2015) is making men being opposed to other men's sexist attitudes as a confrontation technique. The intervention was actually built upon the observational learning techniques because men observed in the experimental condition that their peer confronting to a sexist statement. The "power of self-persuasion" as named by Elliot Aronson (1999) was also used as a framework in this study. The role playing exercise was important in terms of creating cognitive dissonance in participants because when the participants confronted to the sexist men even for a role there might be created a cognitive dissonance between their sexist thoughts and confronting attitude. Kilmartin et al., (2015) anticipated that the reduction in sexism scores which measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fisk, 1996) might be created by the cognitive dissonance. Thus, the above study is important to show that techniques and theories about cognitive dissonance can be used in interventions to reduce sexism. In one study (de Lemus et al., 2014) which was conducted in Argentina, it was found that both BS and HS were reduced by the intervention and supportive attitudes toward collective action to fight against sexism were also heightened again by the same intervention. A similar study was conducted also in El Salvador as a part of the same project and this time, it was seen that intervention reduced not only BS and HS, but also system justification beliefs while heightening the supportive thoughts for activism again (de Lemus et al., 2014). In this study, six sessions of intervention were employed in totality for 20 hours. They created sessions based on Pratto and Walker's gender and power theory (2004). Daily diary method was used in this study too.

In one of the studies, researchers (Becker & Swim, 2012) used an educational strategy to reduce subtle types of sexism namely benevolent sexism and modern sexism. Although sexism in blatant forms is recognized more easily, like in the case of hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) or in the case of endorsing traditional gender roles (Swim et al., 1995), people can skip the negative consequences of subtle sexism (Glick et al., 2000). Thus, for the purpose of reducing subtle sexism, in their study, Becker and Swim (2012) proposed that learning the harmful effects of BS and how prevalent the BS is can decrease people's endorsement of these beliefs. For this aim, they conducted two experiments, one of which focused on the effects of education on the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism and its prevalence. In their between-subject design, they created conditions called high prevalence-high harm, high prevalence-low harm, low prevalence-low harm and low prevalence-high harm in 2*2*2 design, and they manipulated information about harmful effects and the prevalence rates while giving information. Also, they

gave different scenarios to participants according to their gender. In this way, they tried to learn about the likeability of a benevolent sexist and modern sexist partner, because they also hypothesized that when the participants were put in the high harm-high prevalence condition they would learn that benevolent sexism is both harmful and prevalent. As a result, when they learned this fact, they would not like sexist partners. As compatible with the researchers' hypothesis, it was found that when participants received information implying that BS is harmful and prevalently seen in society, they took significantly lesser scores from modern sexism and benevolent sexism inventories. These participants also stated that they did not like partners from sexist profiles as compared to participants from other conditions. In addition, researchers replicated these results in their second experiment with the results from social desirability inventories, so they also eliminated the thought that participants might try to show themselves as non-sexist people.

More recent research (Moss-Racusin et al., 2018) was conducted in the aim of reducing gender bias against women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) areas where women generally do not study or work predominantly (National Science Foundation [NSF], 2017). The underrepresentation of women in science areas generally source from gender bias which leads to people making better evaluations of men compared to women who are as qualified as men. In this study, researchers used different conditions to reduce bias in the experimental part. In these conditions, participants were exposed to some empirical information about research on gender issues through videos. The researchers used three experimental conditions and these are namely; narratives, expert interviews and hybrid conditions. Additionally, researchers used two control conditions and one of these was called the non-intervention control condition in which participants did not watch any videos and the other one was called the video control condition in which participants watched scientists talking about one of the basic sciences. Narratives which contain stories like TV dramas were used, because in previous studies it was found that narratives are more enjoyable and indirect way of giving a message (Green & Brock, 2000). There were six videos created with a narrative style. The other six videos were filmed with an experiment interview style. Researchers found that when compared to the control condition, the experimental group showed heightened awareness about sexism and gender bias, and they also understood the decrease in sexism via the scores from the modern sexism scale (Swim et al., 1995) in posttest compared to baseline measures.

To learn how to reduce sexist beliefs, we should try to understand by which mechanisms people believe in these types of beliefs. In one of the studies (Becker & Swim, 2011) which headed this aim, it was found that not noticing sexist incidences in everyday life can result in having more sexist beliefs. In this study, women in the experimental group who wrote the number of sexist incidences for a week on daily diaries had significantly lesser modern sexist, neo-sexist and BS

beliefs (according to the scores in instruments like ASI) than the women in the control group who wrote the number of stressful events in their everyday life on diaries. Although men in the experimental condition perceived the same amount of sexist events as women, they labeled these incidents as less sexist and it was only when they were manipulated with empathy inducement that they endorsed modern sexist beliefs significantly less than men in the control condition. In one-week follow-up condition, the participants who wrote the number of sexist incidences that they had witnessed in daily diaries, became aware of more sexist events and they also remembered more sexist events. Researchers operationalized awareness with a direct question which asks the degree of awareness of sexism on a seven-point scale. In the second study, researchers used men's and women's profiles to understand preferences about sexism in subtle way. By the usage of this method, they tried to erase the effect of demand characteristics because researchers assumed that participants might want to show themselves as non-sexist on measurements. As a result, it was found that women in the experimental condition who became more aware of sexist incidences stated that they would not prefer men in sexist profiles as partners. Women in the diary condition also admitted to support a collective action about women's rights more than the women in the control condition. In men, although writing daily diaries about sexist incidences led to more awareness about sexism this awareness did not lead to a decrease in sexist beliefs as measured by Modern Sexist Inventory and BS part of ASI. However, it was found that additional techniques related to empathy induction should be conducted on men, if researchers want to reduce modern and neo-sexist beliefs in them.

There is also one study conducted in Turkey to reduce sexist beliefs (Kahraman, 2017). It was found that after a health education in sexuality, ambivalent sexism scores decreased in university students. In the procedure part, the author told that she had read books about both sexual health and equality in social gender roles, and after that prepared a curriculum for education. However, in the introduction section of this study, the relationship between sexual health education and ambivalent sexism was not told.

Up until now during the process of telling about the interventions, some theories were briefly mentioned. Although the examples were given from successful interventions, the effect sizes of most studies are unknown. Because the number of interventions is still not much, this area might be seen as new and open to new theories to reach more influential interventions to reduce sexism. As Becker et al. (2014) said more sophisticated interventions in terms of theoretical background are needed because we still encounter sexist events. In the psychology literature, interventions were also used in the health area and predominantly with the usage of social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) Thus, in the current study this theory is proposed as a beneficial source for future interventions in the sexism area. Accordingly, in the next section, the tenets of social cognitive theory will be tried to be conveyed.

Social Cognitive Theory

The basis of Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) is social learning theory which was also created by Albert Bandura in 1960 (McAlister, Perry, & Parcel, 2008). SCT is a causal model in which three factors namely; *personal factors* like affective, cognitive, and biological events, *behavioral patterns*, and *environmental effects* interact bidirectional with each other (Bandura, 1999). According to SCT, people are not automats but beings with consciousness. Thus, they are not only affected by the environment but they can also plan future events and act in agentic ways.

Self-management strategies are among the most important parts of the social cognitive approaches. In previous studies, SCT was used to ameliorate people's habits about their health (Bandura, 2004). SCT has five essential determinants, namely; *knowledge*, *self-efficacy*, *outcome expectations*, *goals*, *perceived facilitators*, and *impediments*. According to Bandura (2004), knowledge is a requirement for change. For example, in the health context if people know about the health risks then they can change something about their health habits, so having knowledge is actually a "precondition" for change (Bandura, 2004). Here I propose that the first factor of SCT called *knowledge* might be also important and a precondition for change in sexism area because I think that if people do not know the various negative effects of sexism, they do not want to change their sexist ideas especially the BS which has a seducing structure. Another important element which is *outcome expectations* can appear in many different forms. Physical and material outcomes, which are about whether the behavior will give pleasure or pain, for example, are among different forms of outcome expectations. Apart from these, social reactions are also among the important forms of outcome expectations. People can hope for positive or negative verbal feedback from the people in their environment. In the case of reducing sexism, I think social reactions may also be important because behavior is generally organized through anticipated and real social reactions. In addition to reactions from outside, personal reactions toward ourselves are also important to continue in the changing process because only if we are satisfied with our behavior then we can continue to act upon it (Bandura. 2004). Thus, hoping to feel well after being successful in intervention as a participant is a personal outcome expectation. This expectation might be heightened during the reducing sexism interventions also. Another important determinant of social cognitive theory is *perceived facilitators and impediments*. Those impediments can be rooted from personal habits or they can be rooted from environmental and social issues. For example, in a qualitative study, transportation was found out as a barrier for participants (Merlin et al., 2018). Thus, when we apply the SCT to the sexism concept, it can also be said that transportation might be hard for participants other than students if the intervention is conducted on campus. Personal impediments might be about whether the person easily feels negative emotions like anxiety or guilt. I think, personal impediments can also appear in participants during reducing sexism interventions. Participants might feel anxiety if they feel negative social expectations and interveners might feel obliged

to do some adaptations in intervention to reduce these kinds of feelings. Table 2 also shows the possible adaptation of SCT to the sexism interventions.

Self-regulatory mechanisms like self-efficacy of SCT are important because when they were used by researchers in health areas, they created significant reductions in risk factors for health issues by changing people's life styles (Bandura, 2004; West et al., 1999). According to SCT (Bandura, 1986) *self-efficacy*, which is at the heart of motivation and action, is one of the most important elements to take action because if people do not believe that they can reach their aim, they do not stand powerful when they confront some difficulties. For motivation, people should believe that their actions will carry them through the way of achieving their aims. As in the process of learning, in gender stereotypes efficacy also plays an important role in experiencing new behaviors. Increasing self-efficacy might have beneficial effects on performance, because with the help of it, self-impairing ideas could be decreased (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). To heighten the acceptability of a new message and intentions to act with the new message, self-efficacy is an important component (Cundiff et al, 2014). Self-efficacy is also the most known part of SCT and it was validated in several studies (Moritz et al.,2000). According to these studies, when intervention studies concentrate on self-efficacy, beneficial results are gathered. It was also stated that to improve self-efficacy, tasks should be performed and shown to participants repeatedly. For example, dividing the expected behavior into small steps can be influential to enable high self-efficacy (Baranowski et al., 2002). In terms of interventions to reduce sexism, self-efficacy might also be important because when people have higher self-efficacy their motivation to reduce sexism can also become higher.

Not just attempting to reduce sexism, but also how people persist on those new behaviors is important after the intervention. Self-efficacy is important for both the initiation of an event and the persistence of new behavior (Maibach et al., 1991). Self-efficacy is a modifiable component that is to say self-efficacy and new information affect each other in a bidirectional way, so if the interventions will be done for a long duration or for longitudinal purposes, changes in the levels of self-efficacy can be important. In this perspective, Maibach et al. (1991) measured the levels of self-efficacy both at the baseline and after the intervention. They also measured the levels of self-efficacy at follow-up (16 months later than intervention) and they concluded that if we only measure the baseline level of it, then we can lose the effect of changes in self-efficacy because of suppression. In this study, it was found that baseline self-efficacy negatively predicts changes in self-efficacy after the intervention (Maibach et al., 1991). That is why in studies, both the baseline self-efficacy and changes in self-efficacy during the intervention should be added to the intervention model. Other studies also showed results related to self-efficacy. For example, it was found that taking an education in health interventions heightened the scores in self-efficacy (Atak et al., 2008) while another study showed the correlation between self-efficacy and adherence to

dietary plan (West et al., 1999). These results suggested that self-efficacy is both influenced and influential part in interventions.

By stepping from above information, I hypothesize that if people have more self-efficacy, the intervention can demonstrate the effect in a more powerful way. Thus, in a possible model, the effect of intervention to reduce sexism can be moderated by the level of self-efficacy. This possible model can be seen in Figure 1. As inspired by Maibach et al.'s (1991) study I also hypothesize that the education that will be given in sexism intervention will heighten the scores in baseline self-efficacy so there will be a significant positive change in self-efficacy. Because of the bidirectional relationship between behavior and self-efficacy, I propose a path model where both changes in self-efficacy and reductions in sexism affect bidirectional with each other and this model's draft can be seen in Figure 2.

In health condition it is known that self-efficacy affects how people should behave, both directly and indirectly (Bandura, 2004). To demonstrate, people with higher self-efficacy can direct their behavior toward bigger goals, so in this case self-efficacy affects behavior through goals. The *expected outcomes* can also be influenced by self-efficacy beliefs because those with low self-efficacy might think that they will fail even if they try hard. In addition, when people with low self-efficacy confront with an impediment, they will easily become disappointed while people with high self-efficacy see the impediments as surmountable things (Bandura, 2004). Thus these relationships also show the core condition of self-efficacy in SCT.

When we think about a new intervention inspired by above interventions we can say that in interventions women should follow a goal for both achieving better self-efficacy scores and reducing sexism at the end. Women should have also *positive outcome expectations* according to SCT to get successful results in reducing sexism. They should also be modeled by a trusted person while conveying information about sexism (most preferably by a social psychologist). As for my intervention, it will target at first women students and I will look at the changing scores in inventories about sexism like ASI. According to Dijkstra and Buunk (2008) to develop an intervention, first it should be decided which variables or factors you want to intervene. Factors which are fluent should be chosen to intervene because steady specialties like personality characteristics might not be changed through interventions (Dijkstra, & Buunk, 2008). Benefiting from Cundiff et al.'s (2014) and Becker and Swim's (2012) studies, I will convey information about sexism in interventions. While in first session I will give information about sexism I will also make the participants to talk about their experiences about sexism as in de Lemus et al. (2014) study. At the second session I will show the negative outcomes of sexism. By giving education about sexism I aim to fulfil the *knowledge* part of SCT. As in Becker and Swim's (2012) study I will make them to keep daily diaries about the sexist events they saw, so the awareness about sexism can be increased in this way. My intervention's duration will be a full semester like in Yoder, Mills and Raffa's (2016) study. I will focus on sexism score as an outcome

variable instead of attitude change. To rule out selection bias, research method lesson will be used to reach a more general population because Case (2007) showed that participants who enrolled gender courses had already lesser sexism scores at Time 1, than the participants who enrolled general courses. Yoder et al. (2016) compared the students who chose the section of the first author known at the same time as a feminist, to the students who enrolled in other sections. In this way, they tried to eliminate selection bias. They also compared the initial scores of students who participated in follow-up and the scores of students who did not participate in it again to rule out selection bias. For this reason, the methodological composition of the study is somewhat wise. They also used "naturally occurring" comparison groups because they did not assign participants to groups randomly; rather, the participants chose their classes themselves. However, I will try to realize random assignment by announcing the experiment for course credit and in the control condition I will give (or make someone give) an education about stress management for a one-semester time. Although it was shown that just attending to a class about gender prejudice might decrease sexism scores (Case, 2004), under the cover of Becker and Swim's (2011) study, I also plan to make an empathy induction to male participants, so I will divide sample into two. Men should be treated differently in interventions to reduce sexism because in one study, it was found that additional empathy induction is needed to reduce sexism in them (Becker & Swim, 2011). Thus, at first, I will make the intervention in women and after looking at the first month results I can intervene in males with empathy induction. The induction will include questions as in Becker and Swim's (2011) study. Because of the seducing structure of BS, during the intervention, the education about sexism can be concentrated on BS more than HS. As Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, and Stangor (2005) said it is hard to identify BS as a kind of sexism so the information about the harmful effects of BS and its prevalence will be tried to convey the participants during education. Because I plan to use the steps of SCT to ameliorate the effects of the information given in lessons I also plan to fulfill the parts of SCT. For example, *outcome expectations* of SCT might be influential in participants and I will try to organize these expectations during the information-conveying process by stressing the beneficial consequences of the reduction in sexism. *Perceived facilitators and impediments* of SCT will also occur naturally in people's minds and I will try to make the education process easier by giving it free to participants. However, if there are participants from outside of campus, this can be a natural impediment in terms of transportation. *Goals* part of SCT will be stressed also in the intervention by directly saying that the aim of the intervention is achieving a reduction in sexism scores.

Discussion

There are some strengths as well as limitations in this review. When the literature is examined it might be seen that, there are not sufficient studies that try to integrate the parts of SCT to the interventions of sexism, so this is the contribution of this study to the literature. There are two hypotheses which are

shown in Figure 1 and 2 in the current study. These hypotheses might be investigated in future studies also.

As said in the part that identifies SCT, the environment includes three parts namely *imposed*, *selected*, and *constructed*. However, in the intervention mapping of this proposal, the environment was thought of as a whole in the perceived facilitators and impediments part. Maybe in future studies, the three parts of the environment of women might be thought in more deeply and the ways to recede the imposed environment, can be suggested.

Although there is a meta-analytic study containing 515 studies related to reducing prejudice, there is no study to decrease sexism against women among these studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Thus, meta-analytic studies about reducing sexism do not exist in the literature. In the future conducting meta-analytic studies about reducing sexism might be beneficial to understand the effect sizes of the interventions.

In this study, the interventions to reduce sexism were reviewed and some implications like reducing violence against women with the help of these interventions were written. However, there are also interventions which aim to directly support abused women (e.g. Fawcett et al., 1999; Lako et al., 2018) These interventions were out of the scope of the current study however this does not mean that the author of the study does not care about violence reducing interventions. Future studies also can look at the importance of interventions to reduce violence in a more direct way.

There might be some reasons why SCT was not applied sufficiently to sexism interventions up until now. Some researchers said that SCT is too broad and comprehensive to apply (Baranowski et al., 2002). However, focusing on five important parts of the theory as in this study can be helpful for the sake of congruity. In addition, trying to adapt this theory to the interventions might create implications. Even reducing negative effects on the health of discriminated women, can be an implication for this proposal by reducing sexism especially in men participants. Previous studies showed that visual media can be influential to reduce stigmatization (Mazziotta, Mummendey & Wright, 2011) so this method can also be used in future studies. By this way *modeling* which is important in SCT might be also fulfilled.

Elsewhere it was said that "to effectively intervene to prevent male violence against women, it is important to understand the factors that contribute to abusive behavior" (Hage, 2000). Thus, with the same logic, I think that to reduce sexism it should be understood the contributing factors to it and the current review might help to this aim. I think women do not need to put themselves in the shoes of victims because as women we have already lived the negative sides of sexism and now I believe that an intervention which is conducted by a knowledgeable woman also academically in sexism area might be beneficial to reduce sexism. As Mays (2000) said, in a world like this, where people are tortured or die because of

differences in various areas like gender, sexual orientation or race, psychologists should be ready to study issues like racism and sexism to set an *inclusive social justice agenda*.

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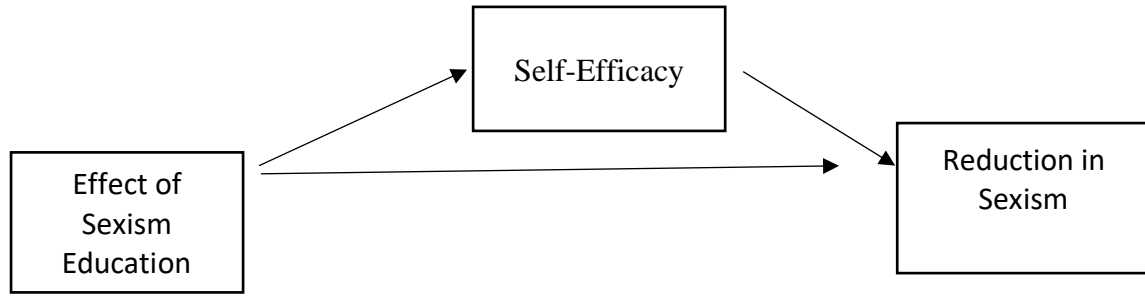


Figure 1. Moderation model showing the relationships between effect of sexism education in intervention, self-efficacy and reduction in sexism.

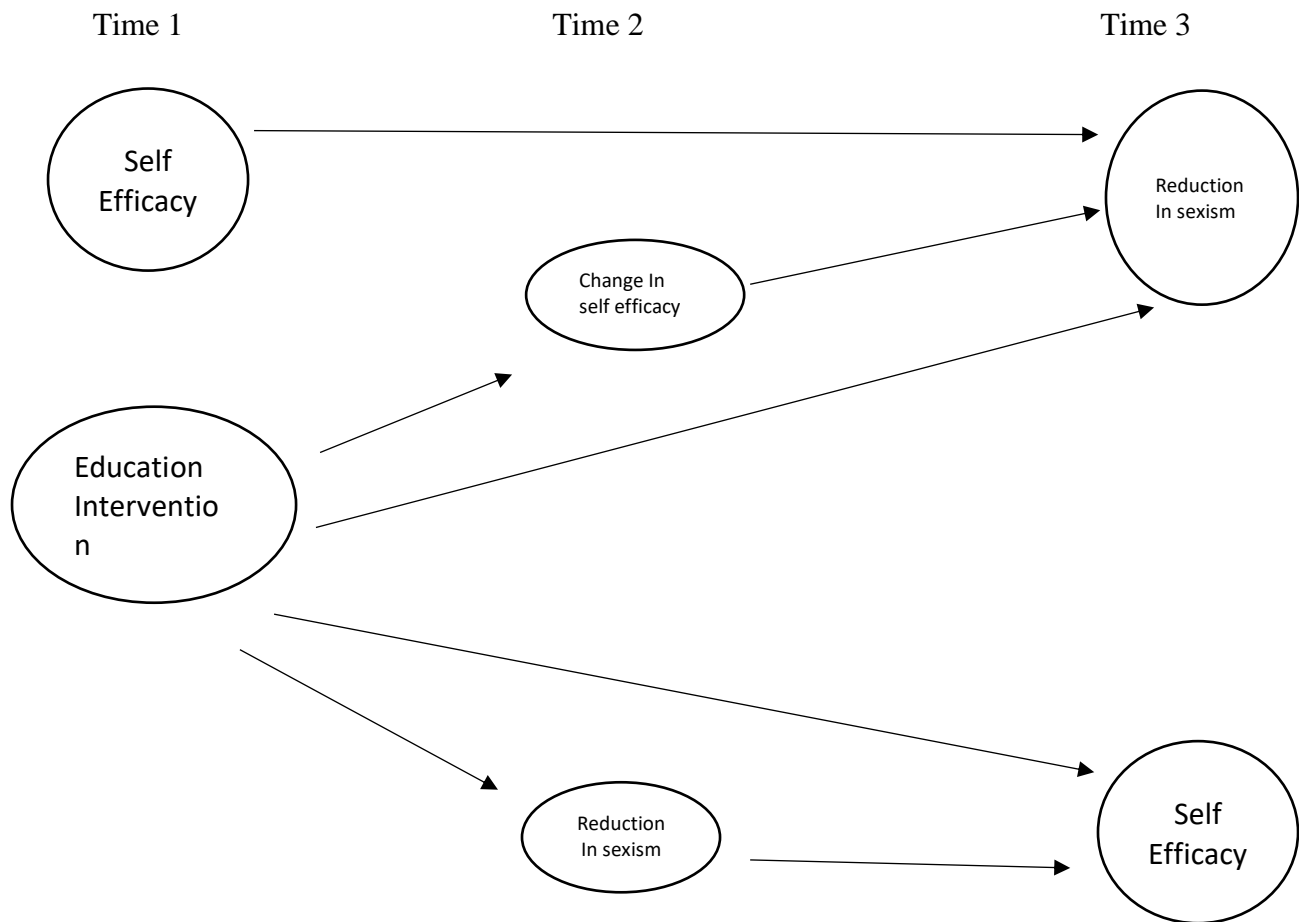


Figure 2. Path model of self-efficacy, education intervention and reduction in sexism.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT: Gender prejudice is usually a negative opinion on characteristics of both females and males which is also referred to as sexism and is seen, unfortunately, worldwide. Violence can also be seen as gender prejudice's end point (WHO, 2002). In the literature, for the purpose of reducing violence against women, several attempts to understand the reasons behind it might be found (e.g., Page & İnce, 2008) and sexism was found out as an important factor that relates with violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009). This linkage makes researchers think that successful interventions to reduce sexism could also lead to lessening of violence against women (e.g., de Lemus et al., 2014; Kilmartin et al., 2008). That is why considering about interventions to reduce sexism is

important. Psychologists generally focus on intervening prejudices other than sexism. However, different factors like interpersonal issues or sociopolitical events affect sexism, so it is a construct to be intervened (Rudman & Glick, 2008; Swim & Hyers, 2009). When we look at the literature about reducing prejudice, we can see that there are only a few studies that mention reducing sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011, 2012; de Lemus et al., 2014). However, interventions are important to gain awareness about the harmful effects of sexism and even to reduce it. The type of intervention is also important for successful results. For instance, researchers used an experiential learning program called WAGES to reduce reactance against the new information about recognizing the harms of sexism in everyday life which is aimed to be gained at the end of their intervention (Cundiff et al., 2014). In the experiential learning program, after conveying concrete experience, 3 steps namely *reflecting*, *thinking* and *acting* should be followed (Kolb, 1984 as cited in Cundiff et al., 2014). At the end of the study, it was found that participants in WAGES condition recognized sexism as more harmful than the participants in the control condition. Although there are successful intervention studies in terms of reducing sexism, the effect sizes of most studies are unknown. Because the number of interventions is still not much, this area might be seen as new and open to new theories to reach more influential interventions to reduce sexism. As Becker et al. (2014) said that more sophisticated interventions in terms of theoretical background are needed because we still encounter sexist events. In psychology literature, interventions were also used in health area and predominantly with the usage of social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) Thus, in the current study this theory is proposed as a beneficial source for future interventions in the sexism area. The basis of Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) is social learning theory which was also created by Albert Bandura in 1960 (McAlister, Perry, & Parcel, 2008). SCT has five essential determinants, namely; *knowledge*, *self-efficacy*, *outcome expectations*, *goals*, *perceived facilitators and impediments*. According to Bandura (2004), knowledge is a requirement for change. According to SCT (Bandura, 1986) *self-efficacy*, which is at the heart of motivation and action, is one of the most important elements to take action because if people do not believe that they can reach their aim, they do not stand powerful when they confront some difficulties. In terms of interventions to reduce sexism, self-efficacy might also be important because when people have higher self-efficacy their motivation to reduce sexism can also become higher. There are some strengths as well as limitations in this review. To my knowledge, there is no study which tries to integrate the parts of SCT to the interventions of sexism, so this is the contribution of this study to the literature. In this study the interventions to reduce sexism was reviewed and some implications like reducing violence against women with the help of these type of interventions were written. However, there are also interventions which aim directly support abused women (e.g. Fawcett, Heise, Isita-Espejel, & Pick, 1999) These interventions were out of the scope of the current study however this does not mean that the author of the study does not care about violence reducing interventions. Future studies also can look at the importance of interventions to reduce violence in a more direct way. Trying to adapt SCT to the interventions might create implications. Even reducing negative effects on the health of discriminated women, can be an implication for this proposal by reducing sexism especially in male participants. Previous studies showed that visual media can be influential in reducing stigmatization (Mazziotta, Mummendey and Wright, 2011) so this method can also be used in future studies. By this way *modeling* which is important in SCT might be also fulfilled.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET: Cinsiyetçilik olarak da adlandırılan ve ne yazık ki dünya genelinde görülen toplumsal cinsiyet önyargısı, genellikle hem kadın hem de erkeğin özelliklerine

yönelik olumsuz bir görüştür. Şiddet aynı zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet önyargısının bitiş noktası olarak da görülebilir (WHO, 2002). Literatürde kadına yönelik şiddeti azaltmak amacıyla şiddetin nedenlerini anlamaya yönelik çeşitli girişimlere rastlanmaktadır (örn. Page ve Pease, 2009) ve cinsiyetçilik de kadına yönelik şiddetle ilişkili önemli bir faktör olarak bulunmuştur (Flood ve Pease, 2009). Bu bağlantı, araştırmacıları cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik başarılı müdahalelerin aynı zamanda kadına yönelik şiddeti de azaltabileceğini düşündürmektedir (örn., de Lemus vd., 2014; Kilmartin vd., 2008). Bu nedenle cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahaleleri düşünmek önemlidir. Psikologlar genellikle cinsiyetçilik dışındaki ön yargılara müdahale etmeye odaklanırlar. Ancak kişilerarası sorunlar veya sosyopolitik olaylar gibi farklı faktörler cinsiyetçiliği etkilediğinden cinsiyetçilik de azaltılması yönünde müdahale edilmesi gereken bir yapıdır (Rudman ve Glick, 2008; Swim ve Hyers, 2009). Önyargıyı azaltmaya yönelik literatüre baktığımızda cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik çalışmaların diğer müdahale çalışmalarına göre görece az olduğunu görmekteyiz (Becker ve Swim, 2011, 2012; de Lemus vd., 2014). Ancak cinsiyetçiliğin zararlı etkileri konusunda farkındalık yaratmak ve hatta azaltmak için bu alanda yapılacak müdahaleler önemlidir. Başarılı sonuçlar için müdahalenin türü de önemlidir. Örneğin araştırmacılar, müdahaleleri sonunda kazanılması amaçlanan cinsiyetçiliğin zararlarını günlük hayatta fark etmeye yönelik yeni bilgilere karşı tepkiyi azaltmak için WAGES adlı deneyimsel öğrenme programını kullanmışlardır (Cundiff ve diğerleri, 2014). Yaşantısal öğrenme programında somut yaşantı aktarıldıktan sonra yansıtma, düşünme ve eyleme geçirme olmak üzere 3 adım izlenmiştir (Kolb, 1984 akt. Cundiff vd., 2014). Çalışmanın sonunda, WAGES koşulundaki katılımcıların cinsiyetçiliği kontrol koşulundaki katılımcılara göre daha zararlı olarak algıladıkları bulunmuştur. Deneysel ve davranışsal müdahaleler içeren başka bir çalışma (Kilmartin vd., 2015), Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde eğitim gören lisans öğrencilerinde cinsiyetçi tutumları azaltmak için yapılmıştır. Kontrol grubunda, araştırmacılar atılganlık becerilerine müdahale etmiş; ancak deneysel durumda, katılımcılardan bir rol oynama oturumunda bir erkeğin cinsiyetçi tutumlarını eleştirmelerini istemiştir. İki haftalık izleme oturumunda, kontrol koşuluyla karşılaştırıldığında, deney koşulundaki katılımcıların cinsiyetçi tutumlarının önemli ölçüde azaldığı bulundu. Bu çalışmadaki müdahale, rol oynama deneyinden 2 hafta sonra yazılan, cinsiyetçi bir erkeğin düşüncelerini konu alan yazılı bir alıştırmaya da içermektedir. Kilmartin ve diğerleri (2015) için bu çalışmanın en önemli kısımlarından biri, bir yüzleşme tekniği olarak erkeklerin diğer erkeklerin cinsiyetçi tutumlarına karşı çıkmasını sağlamaktır. Müdahale aslında gözlemsel öğrenme teknikleri üzerine inşa edildi çünkü erkekler deneysel koşullarda akranlarının cinsiyetçi bir ifadeyle karşı karşıya kaldığını gözlemlediler. Elliot Aronson (1999) tarafından adlandırılan "kendini ikna etme gücü" de bu çalışmada çerçeve olarak kullanılmıştır. Rol yapma çalışması katılımcılarda bilişsel uyumsuzluk yaratması açısından önemliydi çünkü katılımcılar bir rol için bile cinsiyetçi erkeklerle karşı karşıya geldiklerinde cinsiyetçi düşünceleri ile yüzleşme tutumları arasında bilişsel uyumsuzluk oluşabiliyordu. Literatürde cinsiyetçiliği azaltma konusunda yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi başarılı müdahale çalışmaları olsa da çoğu çalışmanın etki büyüklüğü bilinmemektedir. Müdahalelerin sayısı hala çok fazla olmadığı için, bu alan cinsiyetçiliği azaltmak için daha etkili müdahalelere ulaşmak için yeni ve yeni teorilere açık olarak görülebilir. Becker vd. (2014), hala cinsiyetçi olaylarla karşılaştığımız için teorik altyapı açısından daha sofistike müdahalelere ihtiyaç olduğunu söylemiştir. Psikoloji literatüründe sağlık alanında da müdahaleler ve ağırlıklı olarak sosyal bilişsel kuramın kullanımı ile kullanılmıştır (Bandura, 1986). Bu nedenle, mevcut çalışmada bu teori cinsiyetçilik alanında gelecekteki müdahaleler için faydalı bir kaynak olarak önerilmektedir. Sosyal Bilişsel Kuramın (SBK) temeli yine 1960 yılında Albert Bandura tarafından oluşturulan sosyal

öğrenme teorisi (McAlister vd., 2008). ÖTV'nin beş temel belirleyicisi vardır; bilgi, öz yeterlik, sonuç beklentileri, hedefler, algılanan kolaylaştırıcılar ve engeller. Bandura'ya (2004) göre bilgi, değişim için bir gerekliliktir. SBK'ye (Bandura, 1986) göre, motivasyon ve eylemin merkezinde yer alan öz-yeterlik, harekete geçmenin en önemli unsurlarından biridir çünkü insanlar amaçlarına ulaşabileceklerine inanmazlarsa, harekete geçmezler. Öz yeterlik bilincine sahip kişiler ise bazı zorluklarla karşılaştıklarında güçlü dururlar. Cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahaleler açısından, öz yeterlilik de önemli olabilir çünkü insanlar daha yüksek öz yeterliliğe sahip olduklarında cinsiyetçiliği azaltma motivasyonları da artabilir. Bu incelemede bazı güçlü yönler ve sınırlamalar vardır. Bildiğim kadarıyla, SBK'nin parçalarını cinsiyetçilik müdahalelerine entegre etmeye çalışan bir çalışma yoktur, bu nedenle bu çalışmanın literatüre katkısı budur. Bu çalışmada cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahaleler gözden geçirilmiş ve bu tür müdahaleler sayesinde kadına yönelik şiddeti azaltmak gibi bazı çıkarımlar yazılmıştır. Literatürde istismara uğramış kadınları doğrudan desteklemeyi amaçlayan müdahaleler de vardır (örn. Fawcett vd., 1999) fakat mevcut çalışmada doğrudan istismar edilmiş kadınlara yönelik bir müdahale programı tasarlanmamıştır. Bu anlamda gelecekteki çalışmalar, şiddeti daha doğrudan bir şekilde azaltmak için cinsiyetçiliği azaltmaya yönelik müdahalelerin önemine yeniden ve farklı bir gözle bakabilir. SBK yı müdahalelere uyarlamaya çalışarak çıkarımlar yaratabilir. Ayrımcılığa uğrayan kadınların sağlığı üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini azaltmak bile, özellikle erkek katılımcılarda cinsiyetçiliği azaltarak bu önerinin olumlu bir çıkarımı olabilir. Önceki çalışmalar, görsel medyanın damgalamayı azaltmada etkili olabileceğini göstermiştir (Mazziotta vd., 2011), dolayısıyla bu yöntem gelecekteki çalışmalarda da kullanılabilir. Bu sayede SBK için önemli olan modelleme yöntemi de gelecek çalışmalarda yerine getirilebilir.